

Message Text

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NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 DODE-00
H-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 OIC-02 /062 W
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O R 302343Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3578
INFO USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 19879

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/CE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, NATO, BQG
SUBJ: NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING: COMMUNIQUE PASSAGE
ON BERLIN AND GERMANY

REFS: (A) STATE 285089, (B) BONN 19518

SUMMARY: AT THE NOVEMBER 30 BONN GROUP MEETING,
AGREEMENT WAS REACHED AD REF ON MINOR CHANGES TO THE
DRAFT NATO COMMUNIQUE PASSAGE ON BERLIN (REF B).
HOWEVER, ATTEMPT TO SECURE AGREEMENT TO A NEW AD REF
TEXT WITHOUT FRENCH AND GERMAN BRACKETS WAS UNSUCCESS-
FUL, BUT THE FRENCH AND GERMANS DID AGREE TO REQUEST
INSTRUCTIONS ON A TEXT, WHICH THE US AND UK REPS WERE
PREPARED TO APPROVE, WHICH IS BASED ON THE DEPARTMENT'S
COMPROMISE PROPOSAL IN REF A. ACTION REQUESTED:
GUIDANCE. END SUMMARY.
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1. AT THE NOVEMBER 30 BONN GROUP MEETING, THE FRENCH
REP (RICHARD) AND THE FRG REP (VON BRAUNMUEHL) INFORMED
US, AS EXPECTED, THAT THEIR EARLIER POSITIONS ON THE
TEXT OF THE DRAFT NATO COMMUNIQUE PASSAGE ON BERLIN HAD
BEEN CONFIRMED BY CAPITALS. WHILE MINOR CHANGES IN THE
TEXT WERE AGREED AD REF (PARAGRAPH 2 INFRA), NO AD REF

AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED ON THE TREATMENT OF THE QUESTION OF FRG/BERLIN TIES OR THE REPRESENTATION ABROAD OF THE INTERESTS OF THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN. HOWEVER, BOTH VON BRAUNMUEHL AND RICHARD AGREED TO REPORT A NEW TEXT (PARAGRAPH 3 INFRA) TO CAPITALS, WHICH IS BASED ON THE COMPROMISE PROPOSED BY THE DEPARTMENT (REF A) AND TO WHICH BOTH THE OS AND UK REPS WERE PREPARED TO AGREE.

2. THE NEW AD REF TEXT IS AS FOLLOWS:

THE MINISTERS REVIEWED THE DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE SINCE THEIR LAST MEETING IN MAY, 1977. (BEGIN FRG BRACKETS) THEY NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THE POSITIVE EFFECTS WHICH THE QUADRI-PARTITE AGREEMENT OF 3 SEPTEMBER 1971 CONTINUES TO HAVE ON THE SITUATION IN AND AROUND BERLIN. (END FRG BRACKETS). THE MINISTERS REAFFIRMED THE LONDON DECLARATION ON BERLIN OF 9 MAY 1977 WHICH REMAINS FULLY VALID AND EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QUADRI-PARTITE AGREEMENT. FINALLY THEY EXPRESSED THEIR CONVICTION THAT FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROVISIONS (BEGIN FRENCH BRACKETS) REGARDING THE TIES BETWEEN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, AND OF THE PROVISIONS REGARDING THE REPRESENTA-

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TION ABROAD OF THE INTERESTS OF THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN (END FRENCH BRACKETS) IS INDISPENSABLE IF THE QUADRI-PARTITE AGREEMENT IS TO MAKE ITS FULL CONTRIBUTION TO THE RELAXATION OF TENSIONS IN EUROPE.

3. THE US PROPOSAL IS AS FOLLOWS:

THE MINISTERS REVIEWED THE DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE SINCE THEIR LAST MEETING NN MAY 1977. THEY NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THE POSITIVE EFFECTS WHICH THE QUADRI-PARTITE AGREEMENT OF 3 SEPT. 1971 CONTINUES TO HAVE IN AND AROUND BERLIN. THE MINISTERS EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF STRICT OBSERVATION AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE QUADRI-PARTITE AGREEMENT, INCLUDING THOSE REGARDING THE TIES BETWEEN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND THOSE REGARDING THE REPRESENTATION ABROAD OF THE INTERESTS OF THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN. MINISTERS UNDERLINED THE ESSENTIAL CONNECTION BETWEEN THE SITUATION RELATING TO BERLIN AND DETENTE, SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

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4. IN A DISCUSSION OF THE NATO COMMUNIQUE, RICHARD SAID THAT THE QUAI HAD SUGGESTED THE SUBSTITUTION OF "BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE" AS THE MORE NORMAL USAGE FOR NATO COMMUNIQUE. THIS WAS AGREED. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE QUAI THOUGHT THE REFERENCE TO THE NATO COMMUNIQUE OF MAY 9, 1977 WAS USEFUL SINCE IT OBVIATED THE NEED TO MENTION SPECIFICALLY IN THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE WHAT WAS CONTAINED IN THE MAY 9 COMMUNIQUE. HE SAID THE QUAI WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THIS REFERENCE IF THE TEXT WAS GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE BUT THAT THE REFERENCE SHOULD BE ELSEWHERE IN THE DRAFT PASSAGE. HE MADE NO SPECIFIC SUGGESTION ON THIS POINT.

5. RICHARD THEN SAID THAT THE QUAI HAD SUPPORTED HIM CONCERNING THE RESERVATION OF THE FRENCH POSITION
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ON REFERENCES TO FRG/BERLIN TIES AND ON THE REPRESENTATION ABROAD OF BERLIN. HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT THE FRENCH ARE PREPARED TO TAKE SOME OF THE WORDING OF THE COMMUNIQUE OF DECEMBER, 1974 AND MAY, 1975 REGARDING RESPECT FOR THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. SPECIFICALLY, THE QUAI WOULD BE PREPARED TO INCLUDE A REFERENCE TO "THE STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL AND FAIR ("LOYALE") INTERPRETATION OF ALL OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE QA."

6. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, RICHARD CONFIRMED THAT THE QUAI IS OPPOSED TO THE SPECIFIC MENTION OF TIES AND FOREIGN REPRESENTATION, BUT CONSIDERS THAT THESE ARE SUBSUMED UNDER THE REFERENCE TO "ALL" OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE QA. ASKED WHAT WAS MEANT BY "FAIR", RICHARD SAID THAT THE SOVIETS IGNORE THE FIRST PART OF THE KEY PHRASE (I.E. THAT BERLIN/FRG TIES ARE TO BE MAINTAINED AND DEVELOPED) OF PART II OF THE QA AND THAT THE FRENCH PROPOSAL IS INTENDED TO REFER TO THAT SOVIET PRACTICE. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT ANY DEVIATION FROM THE FORMULA OF "STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION" WOULD BE PICKED UP BY THE GERMAN PRESS AND THE INTERPRETATION WOULD BE THAT SOMETHING LESS THAN FULL IMPLEMENTATION WAS IMPLIED.

7. UK REP (EYERS) ASKED RICHARD WHY THE FRENCH WERE MAINTAINING THEIR RESERVATIONS. RICHARD REPLIED THAT THERE WERE TWO BASIC REASONS. FIRST, THE FRENCH DO NOT THINK THAT THERE HAS BEEN ANY CHANGE IN THE SOVIET POSITION OVER THE LAST SIX MONTHS, SO THERE WAS NO NEED TO MENTION THE SPECIFIC AREAS OF TIES AND FOREIGN REPRESENTATION IN THE COMMUNIQUE. SECOND, HE SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAD COMPLAINED IN RECENT MONTHS ABOUT SEVERAL MANIFESTATIONS OF THE FRG/BERLIN TIES
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AND THAT WE SHOULD NOT BE APPEARING TO RESPOND TO THESE COMPLAINTS IN THE COMMUNIQUE, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE FRENCH THOUGHT THE SOVIET COMPLAINTS WERE NOT TOTALLY WITHOUT JUSTIFICATION.

8. THE US REP NOTED THAT THERE WAS CONSISTENCY BETWEEN A NUMBER PRIOR NATO COMMUNIQUE REFERENCES TO TIES AND FOREIGN REPRESENTATION AND BETWEEN THE PROPOSED REFERENCE; SUCH A REFERENCE WOULD BE NOTHING NEW. SECOND, MERELY BECAUSE THE SITUATION IS NOT NEW WITHIN THE LAST SIX MONTHS IS NO REASON TO AVOID MENTIONING IT. FINALLY, WHATEVER DIFFERENCES OF VIEW THERE MAY BE

AMONG BONN GROUP COUNTRIES ON FRG ACTIVITIES IN BERLIN, AND IT APPEARED THAT THESE DIFFERENCES HAD NOW BEEN RESOLVED BY THE INCREASED FRG SENSITIVITY TO ACTIONS IN BERLIN, THE NATO COMMUNIQUE WAS NOT THE PLACE TO LET THESE DIFFERENCES SURFACE. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE COMMUNIQUE PASSAGE ON BERLIN HAS BEEN GENERALLY DIRECTED AT THE REST OF THE WORLD, PRIMARILY THE EAST BLOC.

9. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT THE FRG DOES NOT WANT A MISUNDERSTANDING OF WESTERN RESOLVE ON BERLIN AS THE RESULT OF THE CONTENT OF THE COMMUNIQUE AND EYERS EXPRESSED LONDON'S VIEW THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP BALANCE IN THE TEXT. IF THE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS ARE TO BE MENTIONED, THE NEGATIVE ONES SHOULD BE ALSO. HE THEN SUGGESTED THAT THE REFERENCE TO TIES AND FOREIGN REPRESENTATION COULD BE PUT FORTH IN A LESS DIRECT WAY AND BEGAN TO FORMULATE A TEXT VERY CLOSE TO THE DEPARTMENT'S DRAFT.

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10. THE US REP THEN OFFERED THE DEPARTMENT'S TEXT.
RICHARD SAID THAT HE WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO ACCEPT

IT BUT WOULD REPORT. HE THEN ASKED WHETHER IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO DELETE THE REFERENCE TO THE MAY 9 COMMUNIQUE, IN THE HOPE THAT THE QUAI WOULD ACCEPT THE NEW TEXT. IF REFERENCES TO THE MAY 9 COMMUNIQUE AS WELL AS TO TIES AND FOREIGN REPRESENTATION WERE INCLUDED, THE QUAI MIGHT CONSIDER THIS EXCESSIVE. YON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT THE FRENCH HAD ORIGINALLY PROPOSED THE REFERENCE AND THAT HE WOULD PREFER THAT IT BE RETAINED. HE SAID HE WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO REPORT A NEW TEXT WHICH NOT ONLY CONTAINED THE FRENCH BRACKETS BUT ALSO HAD HAD THE REFERENCE TO THE MAY 9 COMMUNIQUE DELETED.

11. THE US REP NOTED THAT WHILE HIS INSTRUCTIONS DID NOT SPECIFICALLY ADDRESS THE INCLUSION OF THE REFERENCE
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TO THE MAY 9 COMMUNIQUE, IT WOULD APPEAR LESS ESSENTIAL TO INCLUDE THIS REFERENCE IF THE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO TIES AND FOREIGN REPRESENTATION WERE RETAINED. THE SUGGESTION WAS MADE THAT DELETION OF THE REFERENCE TO THE COMMUNIQUE MIGHT MAKE IT MORE LIKELY THAT THE QUAI WOULD ACCEPT THE SPECIFIC REFERENCES TO TIES AND FOREIGN REPRESENTATION SINCE, IF THE QUAI DELETED THEM, THERE WOULD BE NOTHING LEFT. GIVEN A CHOICE, HOWEVER, THE QUAI WOULD PROBABLY ELECT TO DELETE THE SPECIFIC REFERENCES AND RETAIN THE REFERENCE TO THE COMMUNIQUE. VON BRAUNMUEHL RESISTED BUT AGREED TO REPORT THE TEXT IN THE FORM CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPH 3 SUPRA AS AN AMERICAN SUGGESTION. (COMMENT: HE TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT HE FEARS THE FRENCH WILL WISH TO TREAT THE PROPOSAL AS A NEW TEXT FROM WHICH TO WORK AND THAT, IN THE END, THE FRG MAY FIND ITSELF FORCED TO AGREE TO DELETION OF THE SPECIFIC REFERENCES. IN THE LATTER CASE, THE FRG WOULD NOT LIKE TO HAVE TO ARGUE FOR THE REINSERTION OF THE REFERENCE TO THE COMMUNIQUE.)

12. THE LAST SENTENCE OF THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE IS TAKEN FROM THE DECEMBER, 1975 NATO COMMUNIQUE.

13. COMMENT: WE DO NOT CONSIDER THE REFERENCE TO THE MAY, 1977 COMMUNIQUE TO BE ESSENTIAL AND, BASED ON RICHARD'S EVALUATION THAT ITS DELETION MAY BE TACTICALLY WISE IN MAKING THE PROPOSED DRAFT MORE ACCEPTABLE TO PARIS, RECOMMEND THAT IT BE DELETED PROVIDED THAT THE SPECIFIC REFERENCES TO TIES AND FOREIGN REPRESENTATION ARE INCLUDED. WE ASSUME THAT THIS WILL ALSO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRG ALTHOUGH, AGAIN FOR TACTICAL REASONS, VON BRAUNMUEHL WAS NOT PREPARED TO AGREE TO THIS SOLUTION.

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14. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE.
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Message Attributes

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